DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 035 800 AC 006 190

TITLE	OHIO SEMINAR FOR ADMINISTRATORS OF ADULT BASIC EDUCATION.
INSTITUTION	OHIO STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION, COLUMBUS.
PUB DATE	68
NOTE	28P.
EDRS PRICE	EDRS PRICE MF-$0.25 HC-$1.50
DESCRIPTORS	*ADULT BASIC EDUCATION, *ADULT CHARACTERISTICS, ADULT COUNSELING, EDUCATIONAL TRENDS, RURAL AREAS, *TEACHER EVALUATION, *TEACHER SELECTION, URBAN AREAS
IDENTIFIERS	APPALACHIA

ABSTRACT

THIS 1968 SEMINAR FOR ADULT BASIC EDUCATION PROGRAM ADMINISTRATORS WAS DESIGNED TO IDENTIFY PROBLEM AREAS AND TO CONSIDER SOME OF THE SOLUTIONS. MAJOR TOPICS INCLUDED THE SPECIAL NEEDS OF UNDEREDUCATED URBAN ADULTS, CHARACTERISTICS OF APPALACHIAN ADULTS, CRITERIA FOR TEACHER SELECTION AND EVALUATION, THE COUNSELING OF ADULT STUDENTS, AND TRENDS IN ADULT BASIC EDUCATION. (LY)

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OFFICE OF EDUCATION

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OHIO SEMINAR FOR ADMINISTRATORS OF ADULT BASIC EDUCATION

006190

Martin W. Essex
STATE SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION
COLUMBUS, OHIO

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Foreword

Perhaps no national or local effort would have greater value than implementing programs designed to develop salable skills and a sense of dignity in the undereducated adult. Today under conditions of general affluence it is estimated that 400,000 persons in the State of Ohio alone have less than an eighth grade education. In a technological society the demands for a highly educated citizenry are great. Persons with less than an eighth grade education are markedly disadvantaged. Their ability to contribute to the larger society is only exceeded by their inability to assume a role of self sufficiency and personal dignity.

One of the several programs designed to attack the general social and economic problems of the undereducated adult is Adult Basic Education. The task of educating the adult is not an easy one. Present staff resources, materials and supplies, and instructional approaches are at best minimal to the demands of the task.

The purpose of this seminar which was conducted September 19-20, 1968 at Columbus, Ohio, was to identify problem areas in Adult Basic Education and to consider collectively some of the solutions to these problems.

As Director of the Division of Federal Assistance, Ohio Department of Education, I would like to acknowledge and extend my appreciation to the seminar participants. Special appreciation is extended to the speakers whose presentations are included in this publication.

For making the seminar arrangements and for the editing and preparation of this report, we are indebted to the School Management Institute.

R. A. HORN

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Director
Division of Federal Assistance
Ohio Department of Education

The Undereducated Urban Adult: A Special Citizen in Need of Special Help

Joseph C. Paige

I am especially honored to share this special annual occasion with you, to have an opportunity to visit with your State and the City of Columbus, and to meet many of you personally.

I want to personally commend all of you for your noble efforts in working with undereducated adults and wish each of you continued success in your work. I am familiar with your special ABE Demonstration Project in the City of Columbus. Some of you might recall that I was one of the first consultants used in the project. Our Institute in Detroit extends its greetings and best wishes.

I have been asked to share with you my views on the undereducated urban adult – his problems, needs, frustrations, hopes, and aspirations.

For my presentation, I have decided to draw almost wholly from my experiences as (1) Director of the Urban Adult Education Institute, an educational, research, and service facility of the Detroit Public Schools and Wayne State University, (2) Director of the Howard University Elementary Science Project, (3) Consultant-Observer to the President's Committee for the Education of Disadvantaged Children, (4) National Director NASA sponsored Space Literacy Project, (5) Curriculum Director and Coordinator for all technical assistance, nationally, of the New Careers Development Program, sponsored by the Bureau of Work Programs, U. S. Department of Labor.

Our project at Howard University focused on the problems of disadvantaged children and their parents.

JOSEPH C. PAIGE

Director
The Urban Adult Education Institute
Detroit Public Schools
Wayne State University
Detroit, Michigan

The President's Committee was the official watch-dog for all of the Title I projects of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, with a major concern for program innovations and implementation. I had a chance to visit most of the adult education projects funded under Title I.

The New Careers program is concerned with improving the quality of delivery of human services through the effective utilization of the economically poor as new careerists in a wide range of human service areas.

The National Space Literacy Project had as its primary goal the development of some effective approaches to teaching space science to undereducated adults, based on research of pilot programs in selected rural and urban areas.

The Urban Adult Education Institute in Detroit is concerned generally with all of the problems of undereducated adults in their urban environment. We like to tell people that at the Institute, we apply the educational sciences to adult education. In other words, the educational sciences provide the means whereby educational purpose can be clarified, consistent interpretation of data can be realized, and validity of predictions and generalizations can be determined.

I think that all of these special programs have relevance to the issues of concern to this panel, in that all of them were concerned with finding solutions to some of the problems of the economically poor.

My work with these programs required on-site visits to 75 schools in 30 urban and rural areas in 1964, visits to 110 schools in 35 urban and rural areas in 1965, 125 schools in 41 urban and rural areas in 1966, and 153 schools in 56 urban and rural areas in 1967. I was made to feel like a globetrotter, and to be honest, I believe the experiences were more rewarding than if I were "globetrotting" with the Harlem Globetrotters.

These experiences have provided helpful and up-to-date insights into the basic nature problems, interests, aspirations and needs of the economically poor, both young and old. In addition, they have helped us identify for this population some of the major issues and problems relating to (1) teacher preparation – both pre-service and in-service, (2) curriculum needs and development, (3) learning patterns, and (4) life styles. The involvement also helped facilitate the clarification of what appears to be reasonable goals and priorities in the design of instructional strategies for teaching undereducated adults in the inner city.

1. ABOUT UNDEREDUCATED URBAN ADULTS

a. GENERAL:

Some of you might question the notion of the necessity for developing special approaches for the teaching of undereducated adults in the central city, arguing that this should not be necessary since good teaching is good teaching, regardless of the learner population. And of course, I agree, in principle, with this assumption. I also know, and so do you, that we have identified certain factors attributable to variations in socio-economic backgrounds which have decided effects on learning readiness, responsiveness, and individual progress. We know, for example, that while the socio-economic backgrounds of residents in the central city might vary from block to block and area to area, a large number of the residents, by and large, will be poor, Negroid, undereducated, unemployed or underemployed. Or they may be former Appalachian whites, or Puerto Ricans, or Mexican American or some other ethnic group; even so, they will more than likely be poor, with all of the attendant problems characteristic of poverty in America.

Since at UAEI we are family oriented, I believe, for this audience, the problem should be discussed as related to both the undereducated adults and their children.

b. THE CHILDREN AND THEIR PARENTS

For the most part, the children are those of the hard core undereducated, unemployed or underemployed, generally the school dropouts, the economically poor, the culturally disadvantaged, the unwed mothers who have no one to support them or their children. So many are children of parents who were classified when they were children as multi-problem delinquents. Most are from homes with solo parents who find job opportunities blocked by a combination of social ills, oftentimes self-imposed, oftentime imposed by the "system" or the "establishment" or by what to so many has become the hopeless struggle of day to day living.

In some cities, both children and parents are thought of as the "other America," our wasted resources. The parents of these children have employment potential, but all too often need a second chance, a new ray of hope. They need basic education, refresher and enrichment programs, skills and on-the-job training and special training for effectively coping in what to so many appears to be a society of contradictions and double-talk, both on the job and at home, at church and in the local pub, with friends, enemies, or social peers.

c. THE ADULTS

Since there are so many causal factors which account for an individual's lack of success, it is both impractical and undesirable to describe all unsuccessful students by a single set of characteristics. The following generalized items refer to a small number of these students; other items refer to a larger portion of the group. Hopefully, all will provide helpful insights about this population.

1. His Special Problems

a. SCHOOL SKILLS:

Lacks some of the basic skills of reading, writing, and arithmetic.

Has difficulty in dealing with abstractions.

Has difficulty in expressing his thoughts and ideas in traditional ways.

Has a very short attention span.

Has difficulty generalizing what he has learned or in applying it to various day-to-day situations.

Has difficulty concentrating on school tasks unrelated to his day-to-day world.

Has had few of the experiences which produce academic "readiness."
May have difficulty conforming to an acceptable pattern of behavior.

b. ATTITUDES AND SELF IMAGE:
Apparent negative self image, developed early in life, which has been reinforced constantly.
May be convinced that he cannot learn.
Apathetic and indifferent toward social and political events.
Is antagonistic toward the "system," but not toward learning per se.
Seems not to understand the significance of some school tasks.
Attendance record is poor.
Sees self as a victim of a confused, unfair, unpredictable world.
Has difficulty in seeing a logical pattern to events. Things "just happen."

c. VALUES:
Seems to be unwilling to carry traditional school activities into his private life.
Values action over contemplation.
Goals are immediate. Orientation is, for the most part, to the present.

2. His Special Abilities

a. TOOLS AND SKILLS:
Has considerable insight into "gut" level human behavior, a desirable trait lacking in too many professionals.
Has a very selective hearing instrument – (can turn you on or off at will).
Is master of the art of gesticulation.
Is generally either extremely curious or indifferent about how things work.
Has been forced to master survival skills, both physical and emotional. (Again, a master at "gut" level coping, although generally unable to negotiate the system.)
At the grass roots level, shows considerably more maturity and ability to function than highly academic peers.

b. CREATIVITY:
Deals with situations in unusual, unconventional, but in natural and appropriate ways.
Is imaginative in creative and innovative efforts to thwart the system.
Is very creative and effective with peers in non standard oral communication.

c. PROBLEM SOLVING:
Has a high level of problem solving ability.
Is able to adjust to hostile, indifferent and difficult environments.
Learns successfully in optimum academic situations and in practicums.
Is capable of learning much more than he demonstrates, and I might add, than tests indicate or educators either believe or predict.

3. Causal Factors Which Might Account for His Lack of Success

a. CULTURAL:
Socio-economic limitations.
Recorded low IQ as indicated on intelligence test, due to language problems or different cultural background, (in most cases due to test biases).
Family problems of mobility, tension, or anxiety.
Bilingual environment among both English and non-English speaking adults.

b. EDUCATIONAL:
Meager resources in the home, community or school.
Inadequate curriculum or instructional strategies.
Ineffective and indifferent teaching.

c. PHYSICAL:
Sight or hearing defects.
Emotional immaturity.
Dyslexia or strphosymbolia.
Organic mental dificiency.
Low IQ as measured by tests, due to low manipulative skills resulting from lack of experience.

d. EMOTIONAL:
Victims of an early childhood "Battered Child" syndrome.
History of accidents, infections, or diseases resulting in emotional problems.
Lack of consistency with respect to ability, achievement, and aspiration.
Unrealistic educational pressures before "readiness."

2. THE CHALLENGE

The generalized descriptions listed above may well apply to a shocking estimated 20 million functionally illiterate adults living in urban areas. This is a shameful reality – one that affluent America can ill afford. Nor can we afford the physiological and psychological depreciation associated with undereducation – as relates to the individual, his family and more generally to his "group." Clearly, all evidence seems to suggest that our timing is late, and that we must plan now, in due haste, effectively and wisely, if we want to keep America great. Some educators believe improved innovative basic education programs for adults are necessary if we want to *save* our country.

There is growing evidence that as the population of the United States increases, there is a corresponding increase in technological advances, tending to complicate the economic and sociological framework of our social order. There is evidence that technological advances have very specific effects on the nature, types, and availability of jobs, on leisure, on family living, community and civic involvement. We know that these complex factors seem tc bring increasing pressures on undereducated adults, and we can see growing effects of these pressures as we study the day to day behavior of this population.

For example, we know something about the nature and effects of poverty. We know that there is a direct relationship between the lack of education and poverty, between poverty and social welfare, and between poverty and social disorder. While we do not have a quantitative estimate of the correlation between education and social disorder,

current data, including the Kerner Commission report, support the notion that the undereducated constitute an impressive majority of the participants in recent social disorders.

There are many justifications for immediate effective planning – both short range and long-range. We can equate the justification in socio-economic behavioristic jargon or in purely social or purely economic terms.

In purely economic terms, we know that the average high school graduate receives about $75,000 more in lifetime earnings than the non-graduate. The economic loss to the nation has been estimated to be at $100,000 for each high school dropout. This conservative estimate is believed to be more than double when one considers the full implications of reduced lifetime earnings, smaller tax payments, welfare and unemployment benefits paid, increased delinquency of children, increased illness rate, increased illegitimacy, increased participation in social and civil disorder on the part of adults, and reduced purchasing power.

3. MEETING THE NEED

To meet this need, there is an immediate urgency for a variety of innovative experimental approaches to teaching and working with undereducated adults.

A good program ought to bring together in a positive cooperative environment all of the concerned elements of the community, including representative undereducated adults, educational planners, social action groups, and industry.

A good program ought to also experiment with a variety of uses of new educational technology.

A good program ought to take into consideration all of what we know about undereducated adults, their learning styles, problems, etc.

4. INSTRUCTIONAL STRATEGY

At the Urban Adult Education Institute, we have experimented with a wide range of creative instructional notions. One thing we have learned is that any effective instructional strategy for hard core undereducated adults in the central city must be systems oriented and that it must utilize a multimedia approach.

My experience has been that educators, including, unfortunately, too many teachers and administrators of adult basic education programs, seem to be adverse to the notion of applying a systems approach in the solution of educational problems. The constant cry seems to be that to apply systemics to the educative process is too costly in terms of man hours, and that there are too few people who really understand systems application. And to all of these flimsy excuses, I say hog wash!

What greater investment could a city, state or nation make than in its human resources?

A systems approach is a method of problem solving. It involves setting goals first, and then viewing the system in three parts or phases: input, process, and output.

a. Inputs consist of the elements that go into the system; some are fixed, others are variables.
b. Process is everything that happens to input elements after they enter the system.
c. Output is what the system produces.

The outputs from any adult basic education lesson should be students with particular skills, knowledge, attitudes, interests, and potential acquired as a result of having been exposed to that particular lesson or a series of related lessons.

An understanding of systemics is necessary for effective teaching, and the approach should be the basic in the planning and teaching of all adult classes.

5. COMPENSATORY FUNCTION

All ABE classes should serve a compensatory function.

Since the learner has been most likely exposed to fragmented or inadequate formal instruction, he may need what might be termed "basic education" or "enrichment classes" as he continues to learn about the worlds of living, leisure, and work. As far as the teaching strategy is concerned, it will be necessary to continue emphasizing the elementary goal of exciting or motivating the learner, "turning him on," so to speak, with respect to the dynamic nature of the educative – work process, strengths and its limitations. For these adults, it is imperative that the motivational devices be realistic and vocational or job oriented, making maximum use of practicums, as well as use of drama, surprise and curiosity rather than depending on grades, neatness, and punctuality. It is critical that we provide for success early and often.

In addition to this compensatory function with respect to course content, an effective ABE program should provide healthy compensatory experiences to undereducated economically poor adults by providing a base for positive behavioral modification in areas relating to individual identity, positive self image, and understanding of the nature of change, both as pertains to people and to things, whether natural or unnatural.

6. THE ABE TEACHER AND ABE ADMINISTRATOR

Inherent in an effective instructional strategy are people, processes and a product, the teacher being vital to the system. Hence, I do not see how we can discuss an effective ABE program without also discussing the ABE teacher and the administrator of ABE programs. While at the Institute we emphasize applying the educational sciences, I am committed to the notion of what some call a socio-cultural approach in the preparation of teachers for work with undereducated adults. Actually, this is one of the very positive things the educational sciences seem to be able to do. So far, this approach seems to have the greatest promise in increasing the teacher's understanding of and overall effectiveness with the central city undereducated adults.

The socio-cultural approach is based on the premise that a teacher must know something about the learner, his sub-culture, his life style, and his socio-physical environment before he can realistically understand some of the problems of the learner, a necessary requirement for maximizing individualized instruction – one of our more nobly acceptable instructional goals.

The major innovation of this approach is its emphasis on practicums. In other words, this approach requires that teachers undergo formal professionally supervised practice and observation of real teaching, counseling, home and community situations directly related to the problems and life styles of the adult students for the purpose of discussing or criticizing the activity. This often involves the use of video tape recorders, one-way observation and audio facilities.

Undereducated, poor, central city dwellers are quickly becoming a positive but frightening cadre of social and political activists. Many of them seem to have developed varying degrees of hatred, mistrust, and a shocking sense of bewilderment as they learn more about America and about what democracy and freedom is supposed to be. They seem to sense too many contradictions between what we practice and what we preach – in the North, South, East, and West. It is here that in my judgment, all too often the lack of teacher and administrative preparedness is greatest.

It is my judgment that all teachers of undereducated adults in the central city should be required to successfully complete a special program incorporating this approach as a condition for permanent status. It appears to me that administrators of ABE programs should also be required to participate in these programs. In addition, they should be required to up-date their understandings of the urban adult learner by continuous participation in in-service programs organized around this and other effective approaches. It is encouraging to note that already many educational units have established training requirement, having developed special program with Title I funds, funds from some of the other Titles of the Elementary and Secondary Act, or from OEO or the U. S. Department of Labor.

7. SUMMARY

In summary, I must say that our observations suggest an urgent need for some drastic reforms in the teaching of undereducated adults in the central city. It should be pointed out that our observations also suggest some basic weaknesses in the teaching of children of these undereducated adults as well.

We need bold and imaginative learner-oriented programs, designed specifically to make learning easier for the learner.

We need to continue to explore the potential of new educational technology in the design of instructional strategies, maximizing the multi-media concept, making use of 16 and 8mm films, film strips, slides, single concept films, overhead projectors, magnetic tapes, and video-tape recorders. In addition, we need to experiment with computers, and various other forms of programmed instruction.

The ABE program must be job oriented, satisfying what Dr. Joseph E. Hill calls the health, educational, legal and political ethics. Although group teaching tends to be the arrangement most favored by ABE students, emphasis must be on individualized instruction if we hope to make real strides in teaching and working with central city adults. And, it should be emphasized, it is not difficult to maximize individualized instruction in group situations.

Family life education should be a must for all ABE programs, especially those for the urban adult.

While, at the present time in history, the undereducated, unemployed or underemployed poor urban adult resident seems to be a source of grave social concern, it should be emphasized that because of his peculiar uniqueness, he can, with reasonable efforts, become one of our sources of greatest strengths, as a new manpower resource and social activist.

Harold J. Bowers
Deputy Superintendent
Ohio Department of Education

M. Eldon Schultz
Adult Education Program Officer
Department of Health, Education and Welfare

MYRTLE R. REUL

Professor
School of Social Work
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

The Adult of the Appalachian Mountain

Myrtle R. Reul

In considering the culture of the Appalachian Highlander, it is necessary to keep in mind an important fact; the region, termed Appalachia, designates a geographical area, not a homogeneous one from the standpoint of culture. While there are similarities, such as in West Virginia and Kentucky, there are also diversities which have affected personal values and attitudes. These diversities have traditionally biased family against family, religious group against religious group, Republicans against Democrats, and even residents of one state against those who live across a neighboring boundary. Terms, such as "ridge runner", or "hillbilly", or "redneck", or "snake", carry certain local connotations when applied by a native of the Blue Ridge Mountains in "Old Virginny", to a West Virginian, or to a mountaineer from the Smokies, or the Cumberlands, or vice versa.

NOT SOCIALLY HOMOGENEOUS*

As early as 1921 when speaking of the parts of eight states which make-up Appalachia, John C. Campbell said, "It is difficult to write of a people who, while forming a definite geographical and racial group, were never socially homogeneous. Statements applicable to the remote rural folk are not true of their urban and valley kinfolk. Most so-called mountain traits are to be found in one form or another throughout the nation."[1]

Writing of the same area in 1962, Whetherford and Brewer described it in these terms: "The region consists of one of the nation's last frontiers but it is a frontier in ferment, a country of contrast. There are isolation and invasion of tourists, rugged individualism and bulging welfare roles, pride and poverty, Elizabethan ballads and atomic bombs, the high altar and snake handlers,

1. Campbell, John C., *The Southern Highlander and His Homeland,* page 14.

TVA and localistic Jefferson democracy, the mountains sage and modern scientist, rural traditionalism and urban technology, the Puritan ethic colliding with the power ethic of a mass society."[2]

The culture of Appalachia is Southern, rather than Northern, and is found outside of the mountains in the rural areas of the Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. It is closely related to the Ozark culture of Arkansas and Missouri and is found north of the Ohio river as part of the original culture of southern Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio. As a matter of fact, most of the earlier migrants to the Ozark Mountains and to the hills immediately north of the Ohio River came from the Appalachian Highlands.

GEOGRAPHY OF THE AREA

The Southern Highlands comprise a region of 112,000 square miles, one-half in the Allegheny-Cumberland belt, over one-fourth in the Blue Ridge range and less than one-fourth in the great Appalachian Valley.[3] From the standpoint of human geography the most important feature of this whole region are its basins, gorges and coves. "They vary in size from many small "flats" gently rolling along small rivers, to such large basins as the site of Asheville. The distributions of these basins, valleys, and gorges have determined the location of population."[4]

EFFECT OF GEOGRAPHY

The walls of majestic mountains, the rocky soil, the inaccessibility of isolated valleys all have influenced the personality development of the people who live in Appalachia. It effected the original settlement of this region even the reason why some of the early settlers came. It effected how they lived, and how they viewed themselves in relationship to their neighbors, and how they viewed themselves in relationship to the world outside the Southern Appalachian region.

2. W. D. Whetherford and Earl C. D. Brewer, *Life and Religion in South Appalachia,* pages 161-2.
   * see also *Night Comes to the Cumberlands* by Harry M. Caudil.
3. Campbell, John C., *The Southern Highlands and His Homeland,* pages 10-13.
4. Vance, Rupert B., *Human Geography in the South,* Chapel Hill, 1932, page 241.

It was a decade after the Revolutionary War before families moved into the mountains, which, up to that time, were a little explored wilderness.[5] For several decades there were no social or cultural differences between Appalachia and any other area of the then young United States. The mountains were not considered a disadvantaged area in which to live.

EARLY SETTLEMENT OF APPALACHIA

The original immigrants were the descendants of early Anglo-Saxons who had left England and Scotland because of religious persecution. They were predominantly Protestant. Many wanted no part of slavery which was becoming common and they showed their contempt by making a break with family members who were slave owners. A few were small slave holders themselves who started westward but came to love the misty blue of mountains and decided to remain in the highlands. Still others came to the new world as indentured servants, or were the children of indentured servants. They were "bound out" to pay their debts in Europe and their passage to the New World. When they served their period of bondage, they were freed. Many moved into the wilds of the mountains where they carried a hatred for their former masters and a strong desire to be "beholding" to no man.

In Alabama impoverished and illiterate whites "were also driven" north into the mountains in the years before the Civil War by the "richer and stronger" slave owning proprietors from the cotton plantations.[6]

SOCIAL CLASSES

There were social divisions in Appalachia even in the earliest settlements. The aristocrats, the slave holders, and the descendants of more prominent families cleared the rich river bottoms in the wider valleys. They usually bought or claimed the right to use the summit of the surrounding mountains as grazing grounds for their sheep and cattle. At the mouth of small valleys, where a creek emptied into the river, lived farmers whose ancestors had fought with Washington's army. Further up the creek bed, along the crest of the mountains, and in back hollows and coves lived the "poor white trash."

5. *The West Virginia Review,* 1926, page 355.
6. Johnson, Charles A., *Shadows of the Plantation,* page 7.

They could trace their ancestry back to the slums of London and the prisons of Europe. They usually depended for a livelihood upon doing "odd jobs" for farmers further down the mountain. Their own "farm land" was poor, so-called "ridge farms," scarred and cobblestoned with rocks around which they "scratched in" a few hills of corn or pole beans and called it a crop. These families were looked upon by the wealthy farmers and aristocrats as hand to mouth tenants, who were "lazy" and "shiftless."

The degree of social prestige in the early days of Appalachia was in direct proportion to the position of the ancestral family and where the family lived in relationship to the terrain. The further up the hollow the lower the social position on the prestige ladder.

The isolation of Appalachia solidified the tendency toward localization in government and suspicion of centralized authority. While many of these early settlers were thrifty and persevering and often built up considerable wealth, they tended to be suspicious of those in positions of authority or wealth. They were passionately eager for freedom, were willing to work long and hard in order to achieve that freedom. They asked only to be left alone, especially by those outside of the mountains. Coal mining became an important industry in the mountains following the Civil War. With the opening of the mines, workmen were brought from Scotland, Wales and Italy in large numbers by the mine owners. "They were looked upon as outsiders and foreigners. They were not accepted by the miners who were the sons and grandsons of the first families."[7] These newcomers were experienced miners and they were mostly Catholic. They were different and a threat, they were not socially accepted when they first arrived and most are not accepted today, although they have lived in the area for forty years or more.

7. Reul, Myrtle R., *Where Hannibal Led Us,* 1967, page 30-32.

Smith adds to this picture of the difference in social classes in mining towns: "The typical mining community consisted of the few superintendents who had some education and several hundred employees who were able to dig coal. In many cases these miners knew little of the English language and practically nothing at all of American customs and ideas."[8]

These early social divisions are the reason why two families, from the same valley, both presently on welfare, can be viewed as representing different social classes depending upon the position of "their granddaddies." This is how they see themselves and each other, although should they move to Cincinnati and work on the same assembly line, they would both be called "hillbillies" or "southern white trash." If, historically, their family differences were great one of them may quit as soon as he learns with whom he will be expected to work because he cannot bring himself to have a close association with such "riff-raff and scum." He would, in his judgment, owe more than this to the memory of his grandfather who held himself to be superior to the "likes of these people."

EARLY WORK HISTORY AND ITS EFFECT ON PRESENT WORKERS

Even in the early days, farming and hunting were seasonal work with long periods of leisure after the crops were harvested. Between chores, the individual, whether adult or child, could sit for hours on the front porch without feeling guilty or compelled to be busy. He worked when he felt like it, completed a task, or left it without completion. Life was never so involved there was no time to visit friends, talk with kinfolk, or go fishing.

Sawmills and lumbering operations suited the mountaineer's work patterns. There was no issue about absenteeism. If a man showed up for work, fine: if not, the work could be done later. If he were absent it was assumed he had a good reason. It was his business, and no one asked questions. Under these circumstances there was no need for an employee to justify his behavior.

8. Smith, J. Russell, *North America,* 1925, pages 226-227.

Life in the coal mines helped to foster this irregular work pattern. Most of the mines closed down in May and did not reopen until late August or September. During the long days of summer the idle miners played cards, or joined other miners to talk about politics, religion or the weather. Besides these weeks of summer "shutdown" there were other layoffs as a result of strikes, broken machinery, or cave-ins. "In 1932 the bituminous mines in West Virginia and Virginia averaged 145 days of operation and 165 days of idleness."[9]

An article in the West Virginia Review describes the working philosophy of the coal miner: "He works when he wishes and stops when he wishes. He toils as strenuously, or as lightly as he wishes. He leaves the working place when he chooses. In a mining community the mine whistle is only an alarm for the town. It is never a signal for the men to cease work."[10]

Generations of seasonal work, or employment with long layoffs, has conditioned workers to accept, and even to expect, periods of unemployment. The fact that the company store or the employer extended credit during times when the employee needed extra money prevented his learning to plan for himself, to control his impulses to buy, or even live within his income. Dependent conditions of being cared for with credit plans or welfare have encouraged an apathy about the future, a hopelessness which borders on lethargy.

FIRST HAND KNOWLEDGE OF APPALACHIA

My first knowledge of Appalachia was experienced vicariously through the eyes of my parents as they related tales of their own early childhood and young adult years spent in the foothills and the mountains of the Appalachian range. My actual experience in Appalachia came later when for a period of more than thirty years I made numerous and lengthy visits to mountain homes, mining towns and isolated farms, in tiny coves and hidden valleys to attend church revivals, community sings, box socials, candy pulls, weddings, funerals, family reunions and political rallies.

9. Van Kleeck, May, *Mines and Management,* 1934, page 185.
10. *West Virginia Review,* September 1930, page 387.

PSYCHOLOGICAL TIE TO THE MOUNTAINS

I found in my many years of direct contact that the people of the highlands are proud of their Southern heritage and that they have deep psychological ties to the "home place" which defy distance or time. Regardless of where they may live outside the rim of their mountains they feel like strangers in a temporary abode.

This love of mountains was described in an old ballad entitled, "The West Virginia Hills":

"O, those hills, beautiful hills,
How I love those West Virginia Hills.
If o'er sea, or land I roam,
I will think of happy home and
My friends among those West Virginia Hills."

It is this feeling of being an outsider which often makes it difficult for the Appalachian Highlander to put down permanent roots in communities like Cincinnati, Columbus, or Cleveland. Accustomed to a person to person culture which invites a stranger to "sit a spell" and to relate family history the new community in the North with its rush of urban living seems cold and indifferent to the migrant Highlander.

The psychological tie to the mountains is further enhanced by the "home-place". This is the ancestral home, or a place where the grandparents lived, which is still family owned. It actually may never have been owned by the grandparents but was viewed as their home.

In one situation I know, the widowed mother lived for thirty-nine years with a son and daughter-in-law who owned the house. She managed their household, disciplined their children and worked their garden. Their property was referred to as her house. It still is, thirty-five years after her death. Presently, the house is owned by a granddaughter of the son who built it, it is often visited by other descendants of the grandmother, all of whom refer to it as "grandmother's homeplace."

HOUSING

The original homes built in the mountains were small log cabins followed by slightly larger "Yankee frame" or clapboard houses. As in all parts of early America, housing was crowded. Rooms were few, small in number, and families were large. The same situation exists in Appalachia today. Housing is still largely thought of merely as shelter from the elements. Visitors to the mountains notice the unpainted houses, and they evaluate the area as drab and without personal pride. Outside paint has never been thought of as important when compared to inside paint and wall paper. One looks from the inside out. When outside, a Highlander lifts his eyes to his beloved mountains.

In 1963-64 my husband and I stayed for a time in eastern Kentucky with a family on the crest of a mountain. To reach their unpainted four room Yankee frame cabin, we climbed a path so steep in places we held onto bushes. The path was cut by the TVA Electric Company for a power line. The family "brought in" supplies with a mule and a stoneboat.

We watched television the first evening. We were aware of the contrast between a telephone advertisement showing a modern housewife in a chrome and copper kitchen compared with our hostess and the cabin where we were to spend the night. The mountain woman used a wood cookstove and wore a dress made from two flowered feed sacks. She made lye soap and had never lived in a house with a telephone. Yet, there was a twenty-mile view across the Cumberland Mountains, and the sun faded into a purple mist of distant peaks – as our host said, "The world is at our feet!" And indeed it was!

There is another major factor in the Appalachian culture which effects attitude toward housing; that is the "fierce desire" for personal independence. A man's home has always been his "castle" to build and defend as he saw fit. If a man wished to build a house he could build it, any size, or shape he wanted, out of any material he chose. For generations houses of all types have been built next to each other without any thought about the effect on property valuation, or zoning, or building codes.

Throughout the Appalachian region almost every community is a contrast of houses. There are large and small, a shanty on stilts next to a brick ranch with a full basement, a mixture of inside plumbing and outside facilities, of hardwood floors and rough hewn pine boards. There are rooms artistically furnished and those crowded with unmatched odds and ends, bought without thought as to how they might look with existing furniture or colors.

Another cultural factor which effects the care of the home is the impulse to quit a task before it is completed. Home repairs often are postponed until major repairs are necessary. It is not unusual to see a barn with one side painted, a roof half shingled, or a partially finished room started years before, the completion of which would mean great convenience to the family.

One family I have known since my first visit to the mountains is an example. The family has lived in the same four-room house for thirty-six years. They raised seven children there. Originally they rented the house from the coal mine company for whom the man worked. When the mine closed in 1950, they bought the house for two hundred dollars. It had no bath nor inside water then; it has none now. They carry their water from a spring three hundred feet along the mountain ridge. Twenty feet down a steep rock below the house is another spring from which water could be piped. Seventeen years ago the man bought the pipe, connections, and an electric pump, all he would need to bring water into the house. Today, the pipe and connections are stored in the top of a shed and the pump is still packed in its original crate. The family still carries drinking water and keeps the rain water barrels under the eaves for laundry and baths. Each summer the man vows to "git the water in the house." The woman answers, "It would be nice to have water in the sink," but she accepts carrying water as part of her housekeeping duties.

FAMILY ROLES

The concept of family in Appalachia is one of extended relationships with three or more generations often living together. There is little of the philosophy of the companionship marriage. The man is the head of the household. He is often overshadowed, however, by the woman who actually makes many of the decisions he claims to make. According to one mountaineer, "The husband is the head, but the wife is the neck, and she turns the head in whatever direction she wants him to go."[11]

Following the honeymoon a young couple settle down in the same valley to a life of farm work, employment in the mines, or in one of the glass or chemical factories. It is not unusual for them to live in the home of their parents or other relatives. After marriage, a man continues to spend a good deal of time with men friends playing cards, drinking, fishing, or just talking. The woman has her women friends with whom she talks, sews, or gardens. Outside of church and family reunions most parents and their children do very few things together as a family.

Emancipation of adult children has traditionally been difficult. There was once an old mountain saying that a child should never move further away "than you could see the smoke from his chimney."[12] Adult children refer to their fathers as "daddy" and how "daddy feels about something" is important as to how the adult child behaves. It is not unusual for adult children, themselves parents, to turn to their parents for continued advice and direction.

ROLE OF WOMEN

Family life in the early settlement of the Appalachian area was shaped in part by the older European tradition and in part by the challenge of the unexplored region. On the one hand, those who came from the early colonies along the coast were steeped in patriarchal tradition. It was only natural for them to look upon the husband as head of the household and to consider the wife and children as subordinates. Justification for the inferior status accorded women stemmed from biblical sources.

11. From personal interviews.
12. From personal interviews.

Morgan,[13] writing of the position of the Puritan woman in early New England describes the traditional position of the woman of Appalachia whose ancestors brought to the mountains the same Protestant ethic which was common in New England.

"In seventeenth-century New England, no respectable person questioned that woman's place was in the home . . . The proper conduct of a wife was submission to her husband's instructions and commands."

From the early history of Appalachia there has always been a clear division of labor in the Highlander's home. An older brother, or cousin, charged with seeing that a little girl got safely to a spring would walk ahead of her and would let her carry the pail of water without assistance because to do anything else would not be "proper behavior for a boy." Although, he had a deep affection for his sister or cousin he would not see any need to "take over her work." Likewise, today, an adult son can comfortably rock on the front porch and watch his aging mother hoe the garden and feel no compulsion to help her, nor guilt about her obvious fatigue, because gardening has always been considered part of a woman's responsibility. While the general attitude on the part of mountain men, even now, is to permit women to do this sort of work their attitude is largely offset by a very real and fundamental respect for womanhood. In general, it may be said that the average woman submits unquestionably to her lot of hard work, excessive child bearing and rule of her husband. It is something of a paradox, however, that when she becomes an old woman with a large family of grownup children she comes into her own and assumes somewhat the character of a matriarch. She is often consulted, looked up to, loved, and respected. And is usually the real head of the home and may dictate to her adult sons and overrule her daughter-in-laws in making family decisions such as whether to move, to visit the homeplace, or if the son should take a job in Detroit.

13. Morgan, Edmund S., *The Puritan Family,* Boston 1944, page 10.

CHILD REARING PRACTICES

There were also other Puritan assumptions brought to the Appalachian areas by the early settlers. "Children were ignorant and children were evil . . ." The pious parent, therefore, was faced with two tasks, instruction and discipline.[14]

It was always an adult-centered culture.** The needs of the parents came first, the wishes of the children second. Even today, discipline usually is not handled as part of long-range planning, or learning for the children, but rather children are told to stop something because father is watching television, or mother does not like the noise.

Large families of eight or more are common. New babies are welcomed regardless of numbers by all family members. There is a good deal of dialogue between parents and the young infant who is encouraged in his beginning efforts to form words and sounds. This is not so much to meet the needs of the baby as it is the needs of the adult. In those homes the baby or young child is the chief entertainment for parents and older siblings who may spend long hours playing with the infant. This may end abruptly with the advent of the next child who becomes the center of attention.

Early childhood training and experience not only foster loyalty to the family, but encourage emotional dependence upon the parents. Because most contacts are with relatives, many children have little or no opportunity to relate to non-relatives prior to their school experience. They see themselves in relationship to grandparents, aunts, uncles and cousins. While they are expected to conform to the wishes of the parents most children are over-indulged. In the hills they are free to roam, to hunt for blackberries high on the mountain top, to explore a cave. Parents aware of the "hard life of adults" allow their children the happy carefree days of summer with few, if any, restrictions.

There is very little vandalism or delinquency in the mountains but many of these children and young people have difficulty when they move to metropolitan areas. In the cities their roaming curiosity would be called "running away" and such parental permissiveness would be labeled as "parental neglect." There is little in their early training that teaches the children discipline and self-control. The few rules and regulations they may encounter in their homes are based more on family values than on whether or not the behavior would be anti-social, contrary to community values, or delinquent.

Children may be kept out of school to do things with the family, or there may be hostility toward the school because the school program does not fit the pattern of family living. This attitude toward school attendance goes back to a time when children in farm areas were kept home to help plant or harvest crops, or to hunt, and when little value was placed on education. Today, the "desirability of knowledge is generally conceded, but only so long as it does not interfere with the basic social and economic life of the family."[15]

14. Ibid

** For a more complete discussion on this subject see *Yesterday's People* by Jack Weller, 1965.

PERSON TO PERSON CULTURE

The Highlander's culture is person to person centered. Each situation applies to an individual in a very personal sense. He views his community in relationship to himself, not himself in relationship to the community. Such an individual will have difficulty accepting criticism. The northern employer who finds fault with a worker from this culture, in the thinking of that worker, is not criticizing the work of an individual, he is criticizing the worth of an individual. In this sort of a situation, not only is the worker insulted by what the employer has said, but all that he stands for is insulted.

An example of this was a college graduate we met in Birmingham, Alabama. She recently had moved from the mountains of Tennessee where her family lived for five generations. They were a well-known and highly respected family; no one doubted their "word" on anything. Her grandfather and father had often borrowed money from the local bank without signing a note, their "word" was enough.

15. Pearsall, Marion, *Little Smokey Ridge,* pages 144-145.

In Birmingham she was stopped by a policeman who asked to see her driver's license. She explained it was home. The policeman insisted that he could not take her word for the fact she was a licensed driver. He wanted proof. He followed her the block to her house where she produced the license.

Two and one-half days later, this college-educated woman was still seething with anger. She had never been so insulted in all her life. Her family in Tennessee had been insulted. Someone had doubted the word of her family, someone had implied she could not be trusted to tell the truth.

Agencies, such as welfare agencies, who must seek proof of marriage or other eligibility facts, should be aware that many of these people view such questions as an insult. This means a case-worker must suspect the couple of "living in sin" and/or has called their children illegitimate, or she would accept the parents' word they were married. She would not ask to see their certificate. Anyone asking for such proof needs to spend time explaining why such information is needed, being careful to point out that the statement of the marriage or birth date is not being doubted.

An Appalachian Highlander may feel superior to his [illegible] who although part of the affluent society [illegible] tor with Washington at Valley [illegible] who helped to carve Knoxville or Jamestown from the wilderness. The alienation the Highlander feels outside of his mountains, the ridicule he fears and senses, may cause a self-imposed isolation. He may never really think of another community as home, although he may live and work there for years.

It is very difficult for a person from this background to view an experience in the framework of another. He sees things only in relationship to self. He is opinionated and bases his concept of what is right or wrong on his own experiences. His total concept of the world is in relationship to self. As he depends upon his five senses for much of his perception, it is difficult for him to understand something he has not seen. He views life in concrete terms and has difficulty with abstractions.

On the job such a worker often misleads by silence or virtual silence. The supervisor asks, "Do you understand?" The mountaineer may nod, or say "yeah" and then fall silent. What do the nod, the "yeah", the silence mean? They could mean a variety of things. That he does not want to understand. That he does not understand but does not want to show his ignorance. That he was not listening and does not want to admit it. That he understands but does not agree. There is no way of telling from his "yeah" or shoulder shrug what he understands, and he is not going to volunteer this information.

There is a tendency for these adults to think of themselves as surrounded by situations which are detrimental to their personal progress. They feel surrounded by others who are envious, jealous, or hostile. It is very difficult for such individuals to take responsibility for their own position in life. Their culture has provided few opportunities for their self-choice. They have been forced into situations because of others. It is the hand of fate. It is easy under these circumstances to think of themselves without fault, surrounded by those who continuously place obstacles in their way. These "blocks in their pathway" are referred to as "they". When defined "they" become neighbors, employers, anyone in a position of authority or the government. Many living in Appalachia blame their present financial situation on the farming methods of their neighbors, the Tennessee Valley Authority, or the Federal Government for taking the best land for parks and projects, or on the supernatural. God is punishing the world for being wicked and they "just as well as sinners must suffer." "They" may also be members of another religion (Jews, Catholics), or of a different political party, or "foreigners" (Wops, Hunkies, Poles), or a family of "inferior or superior" ancestral blood lines, or "newcomers."

It may be very difficult to help such individuals take some responsibility for their own action. Usually they will hint they may have played a role in creating their own situation. It is, however, little more than a hint of insight which usually is immediately contradicted by a lengthy explanation, or a description of themselves as victims who have been manipulated by others.

There is a good deal of jealousy and rivalry between neighbors, or even relatives, with much envy being expressed in acts of spite or through gossip. Lawsuits are common and often are over disputed property lines or damage reportedly done by a dog. In these cases the person being sued, informed on, or gossiped about, is usually thought to be better off in some way and this is an attempt to even the score.

Gossip has always been a strong factor in this culture. It has been a method of punishment and also one of control. For these on welfare there is considerable discussion about the agency and their workers and expressed jealousy if one family gets a larger AFDC allotment check than another. If an allotment check is cut, it is usually felt the welfare was influenced by an informer.

While the people of Appalachia are not all alike in their attitudes and their approach to personal crises, there is much that all mountain people have in common with each other which needs to be understood. Loyalty to the family is one common factor.

As the early pioneers moved into the deep forest they carried with them their Scottish and English ballads, their drive for independence and individuality, their sense of humor, and their clan loyalty which became transferred into loyalty for family. The code of the mountains was, and to some degree still is, never to desert a kinsman, right or wrong. The feuds such as those between the Hatfields and McCoys in the late nineteenth century grew out of family loyalty. "A man has a right to defend his family."[16]

While loyalty to family is growing weaker in recent years with out-migration, nevertheless many of these who geographically leave Appalachia never feel psychologically separated from their kin. "Moving means establishing a home like the original one and carrying on the activi-

16. Thomas, Gene, *Blue Ridge Country*, page 49.

ties that preserve a sense of family and cultural continuity."[17]

Loyalty to family is more than affection for family members. It is a deep obligation to help each other and to share together, to provide care for the sick and a home for the aging. If a kin is in need there is an automatic impulse to help even if one is in debt, has no job, or is living on welfare. This is frequently seen in industrial centers of the North where various members of a family may move in with each other.

When Jim's brother-in-law was out of work in Canton last winter he and his family moved in with Jim. There were four adults and seven children living in a three-room apartment. Later, a cousin arrived from Tennessee with her newborn illegitimate child. She and the baby slept on a cot in the kitchen. As Jim explained to me, they would all do as much for him, therefore, they were welcome to stay as long as he had anything to eat, and a roof over his head.

The extended family provides a cloak of protection. They help each other become established in the new community by sharing housing, providing food, or finding work. Likewise, those who remain in the mountains provide a haven of security for those who leave. It is not unusual for the Appalachian Highlander to take his children out of school and travel halfway across the country because a fourth cousin is being married. He may have learned not to tell his employer that he "felt like going home." Instead he claims there is no work, that he cannot make enough money, that he has "back trouble", is sick or had a death in the family. He is really saying he is homesick for the mountains and for those who understand him – his kinfolk. Frequently visits to Appalachia are related to times when there is a lack of recognition in the new community, when there are problems to be faced or when there is a felt need to be surrounded by family and friends who have the same values. Unfortunately, these frequent returns to the mountains do not fit the pattern of the new life. Schools object to absences of students while they visit a grandparent, uncle or cousin in Tennessee, West Virginia or North Carolina. Employers are alarmed by the high rate of absenteeism or the impulsive quitting of an assignment, or even a job, to go back to Kentucky or north Georgia for a few weeks.

17. Persall, op. cit., pages 169-170.

Migrants from the south Appalachia region who have made an adequate adjustment to other communities are those who think of themselves as residents in the new community, rather than visitors or employees away from home.

OUT MIGRATION

There has always been considerable out-migration from those areas of underemployment, or when the family farm had been so divided among descendents that there was no longer enough acreage to provide a livelihood. The out-migration pattern has been consistent over the years. Large numbers have gone to the industrial cities of north and central Ohio, to western Pennsylvania, and to Detroit and Chicago. The most important factor which affects the selection of a place to look for work is kinship ties. Kinship linkage tends to direct migrants to those areas where family members are already established.

While there always has been high out-migration in Appalachia there has been low in-migration. Whenever this is true the people who remain in an area tend to become highly integrated. Certain family surnames tend to predominate. Community schisms frequently develop along kinship lines. Low in-migration places the kinship group in a more powerful position than in areas where there is high in-migration.

Another consequence of low in-migration is the standardization of tastes, usage, and outlook. The assumptions and values of the elders are less frequently challenged. Old ideas are not exposed to the questioning of newcomers because there are no newcomers. A third consequence of a net loss in migration in a community is psychological. The dominant emotional tones tend to become pessimistic and backward looking, as trade centers decline and the young people leave.[18]

18. Coppe, James H., "Family Backgrounds of Rural Youth" in *Rural Youth in Crisis*, edited by Lee Burchinal. 1964, page 39.

The problems of Appalachia are a combination of economic, social and environmental factors. They are rooted in the past and are related to how the mountain people view themselves and how they are understood and accepted by other areas of the country. No one discipline has the answers to the many problems that are found in the region; not education, public health, medicine, religion, business, industry nor social work. What is needed is a combined effort and a pooling together of information and knowledge from all disciplines. But what is needed most is acceptance. The people of the south Appalachian region given a chance, have the potential to help themselves become more self-sufficient, productive citizens regardless of whether they elect to remain in the deep valleys of their beloved mountains, or whether they migrate to other parts of the nation.

ALLEN D. CALVIN

Behavioral Research Laboratories
Palo Alto, California

Adult Basic Education... Where Do We Go From Here?

Allen D. Calvin

In order to solve a problem one usually must have a pretty good idea of its relevant aspects. For example, if someone told you to catch a "zak," and you did not know whether a "zak" was a bird, or a fish, or a four-legged animal like a bear, you would have a very difficult time even knowing how to begin on your assignment. Adult educators have been given a task much like that of our hypothetical friend who is hunting a "zak."

Back in April, I received from Dr. Derek Nunney, who was then Director of the Adult Basic Education Program for the U. S. Office of Education, a very illuminating report entitled "A Comprehensive Plan for Solution of the Functionally Illiterate Problem" (1968). I am sure many of you have seen this presentation which was prepared by Management Technology, Inc.

In this report the *educationally disadvantaged population* was defined as those people 18 years of age or over who have not completed eight years of formal schooling – in 1960 there were at least 24 million such people. In addition, the report noted that there are individuals whose records indicate that they have completed more than eight years of formal schooling, but did not retain an equivalent education. In the Management Technology report these two groups of individuals are referred to collectively as the "functionally illiterate." That is, these individuals "do not possess an education that will enable them to function effectively in a modern civilization."

Although, as noted, the report does mention the existence of functional illiterates with an education beyond the eighth grade, it actually

does not appear to take this group into account in its future projections for adult basic education programs. Or if it does take this group into account, the report certainly does not understand what is happening in the United States today.

The report presents an analysis of the characteristics of the educationally disadvantaged population which indicates that the largest number of educationally disadvantaged occurred in the older age groups – a series of detailed statistical breakdown analyses were made which I will not discuss here, but let me quote one summary paragraph from page 18 which presents the general overview of the report's position pertaining to the nature of the distribution.

> "The ratio between the total population and the Educationally Disadvantaged Population of each group, as shown in Table 1, decreased with the age of the group until 1957 when it apparently stabilized. In that year, the EDP was approximately 6.6 percent of the total population. The following year the EDP portion of the individuals who became 18 years of age was only 6.4 percent of the total population for the age group, but in 1959 the percentage returned to 6.6 percent. In 1960, the year of the census, this ratio dropped to its lowest point; 6.3 percent of the 18 year olds were in the educationally disadvantaged group."

In actuality, as we shall soon see, the authors of this report, as well as many other individuals who have made statements concerning the magnitude of the functional illiteracy problem, have been beguiled by such data and have consequently underestimated the scope of the problem by such a terribly large margin that they have obscured its fundamental nature! Let us now look at some actual empirical findings in this area.

In the October 1966 issue of *American Education*, Richard de Nuefville and Caryl Conner published an article entitled "How Good Are Our Schools?". This article is, in the present author's opinion, the most important single study relating to adult basic education.

Professor de Nuefville was on an assignment from the MIT faculty as a White House Fellow at the time of the article. He was assigned to Defense Secretary McNamara and was given access to the raw data from the Armed Forces Qualifications Test. In the last ten years over ten million men have taken the Armed Forces Qualifications Tests. The scores from these tests compose the largest group of standardized test scores that has ever been available for state and regional comparison.

The AFQT is an extremely useful test for educators involved in adult basic education. As Dr. de Nuefville noted (1966, page 5):

> "The most relevant index for appraising the quality of education in a community is the degree to which it provides the basic knowledge and skills that are required in our contemporary world. AFQT results tell a great deal more than the number of men who are not qualified intellectually to enter the Armed Forces. These same young men are equally unqualified to become contributing members of our work force. They have not been educated to provide for themselves and their families. 'Today's military rejects include tomorrow's hard-core unemployed,' said President John F. Kennedy. 'The young man who does not have what it takes to perform military service is not likely to have what it takes to make a living.' The rejection rate on the AFQT is not an infallible guide, but it is impressive evidence of failure by many schools. The grown man who cannot pass the AFQT is in serious trouble. This test does not measure innate intelligence or scholastic aptitude – it measures precisely those skills that are most important in terms of job and income."

De Nuefville and Conner found in their study that the amazingly high total of 25.3% of the 18-19 year olds in the June 1964-December 1965 sample failed the Armed Forces Qualifications Test. *Thus, one out of every four young men could not enter the Armed Forces because they did not have the intellectual skills to function as infantrymen!* It appears obvious that any individual who cannot pass the Armed Forces Qualifications Test does not "possess an education that will enable them to function in a modern civilization." We must, therefore, realize that the actual number of functionally illiterate is sharply higher, at least for the males, than estimates given by previous reports which were based on a less precise criterion.

When a breakdown is made in terms of ethnic origin, the results are even more disconcerting. For the black members of the sample, the average failure rate was approximately 68% as contrasted with 19% for the whites. This means that more than two out of every three of the young black men who took the Armed Forces Qualifications Test failed. What kind of a life can a young man expect to lead, particularly a young black man, who fails this examination? Can he expect to get a decent job? To get married and raise a family? Can such a young black man expect to participate in our American free enterprise system? The answer is obvious!

The American free enterprise system is the finest economic system in the world, because under most conditions it rewards the individual with the most ability and the company who hires on such a basis. Thus, if a company refuses to hire Japanese, Frenchmen, or any other ethnic group, it deprives itself of a very valuable economic resource. Eventually this company's competitors who hire the best people possible will force the company to modify its position or suffer the economic consequences. A good example of this is in the field of sports where our minority groups do not presently have to labor under the same sort of handicaps and have, therefore, moved rapidly ahead. Any football or baseball team that tried to restrict its members would soon find itself losing and would, obviously, suffer correspondingly severe economic losses. Although there is discrimination in the field of professional athletics, such bias is limited by the obvious economic consequences.

Our economic system can be viewed as a race where the rewards go to the swiftest. That is as it should be. But a race assumes that everyone starts from the same point. The young black man who fails the Armed Forces Qualifications Test and then enters economic competition at the age of 18 or 19 obviously starts the race a great deal further back than his more advantaged competitor. The educator concerned with adult basic education must keep this ethnic distribution in mind in order to create an effective program.

Once the problem of adult education is seen as one which encompasses somewhere in the neighborhood of 25% of our present 18-19 year old population, we can see that the programs that are currently being proposed will be only a band-aid instead of the kind of major surgery that is actually required.

Adult basic educators should at the present time be creating programs for the over 25% of our adult population that is functionally illiterate. Viewed in this light, one can see why so-called "massive" programs of adult basic education have not "succeeded." Typically, such programs have only scratched the surface and have, in fact, unjustifiably raised the hopes and levels of aspirations for thousands of would-be students for whom no such program was available. We have failed to provide adequate programs even for the small number of students judged as needing such programs, and in terms of the actual need, projected programs have been woefully inadequate.

Are there approaches available now in the field of adult basic education which offer a means of transforming the large number of functionally illiterate adults into individuals with an education relevant to today's economic conditions? Fortunately the answer to this question is an unqualified yes.

The first problem, of course, is that of teaching the functionally illiterate adult to read, so that he can then move through the rest of the curriculum. I have discussed this problem at length in a previous publication sponsored by the U. S. Office of Education entitled *Adult Learning* (1967). In the chapter, "Teaching Adults to Read," I delineated in some detail why the Sullivan Behavioral Research Laboratories programmed materials deal effectively with the problem of adult literacy. At this time I would like to acquaint you with the results of two adult basic education studies funded by the U. S. Office of Education where the Sullivan Behavioral Research Laboratories programmed materials were used.

In the summer of 1967 the Southern Christian Leadership Conference under an Office of Education grant gave 490 Chicago Negroes basic education training. Using Behavioral Research Laboratories' Sullivan materials, the students were taught to read and a sample of the students who completed the program showed an increase of more than two years in reading ability from their summer instruction. The average participant who finished the program was employed at $2.75 per hour which was a marked improvement over their former average wage of $1.40.

In another program conducted between July and September of 1967, 211 neighborhood youth corpsmen received training in a special experimental demonstration project conducted by the United Planning Organization of Washington, D.C. The purpose of this project was to provide these youths with an accelerated educational program to prepare them for immediate job entry into the Department of Defense. Behavioral Research Laboratories' Sullivan programmed materials were used to teach reading and 61% of the enrollees increased 1-3 grade levels. The U. S. Office of Education recommended that the project be expanded.

After a functionally illiterate adult begins to read, then, of course, his real education begins. The use of programmed materials in instructional material centers and learning laboratories have accomplished dramatic results in this area.

The State of North Carolina has done particularly impressive work. Joseph Carter, Coordinator of Learning Laboratories for the State and his associates, have produced a program that could well serve as a prototype. They have set up a General Educational Developmental Curriculum based on programmed instruction. It was tested with the students who entered the Learning Laboratories with an average reading level of eighth grade. During a period lasting between 12 and 18 months, the 600 students completed their individual course of study. Of these 600 students, 588 or 98% *passed all G.E.D. subtests!*

What is needed at the present time is an awareness of the scope and desperate urgency of this problem of the functionally illiterate adult. Many of our social ills which have been blamed on esoteric causes, are due in large part to the fact that over 25% of our young men are patently unfit to compete in our modern American society. We must, of course, make changes in the schools themselves in order to strike at the real root of the problem. However, we cannot turn our backs on the millions of young people who need additional education now.

The Management Technology report, using very conservative estimates, indicates that the potential lifetime income increases for adult basic education graduates from a single year of their projected adult basic education program rise from a low of 15 billion to a high of about 51 billion. While such dollars-and-cents estimates are extremely dramatic, the changes in our social fabric in terms of lessening of riots, social disintegration, etc. are subsidiary benefits which are at least as important as the billions in extra generated income.

The cost of conducting a successful adult basic education program will be high. The cost of not conducting an adequate adult basic education program will be even higher, not just in terms of dollars and cents, but in terms of the potential dissolution of our American free enterprise system!

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Criteria for the Selection and Evaluation of Teachers of Adult Basic Education

William D. Dowling

Research has not yet been very helpful to those persons who have the responsibility to select and evaluate teachers of Adult Basic Education. Otto and Ford have said this about the problem of selecting teachers of Adult Basic Education, "Since teaching adults to read is a new educational specialty with requisite skills yet to be determined, and since few teachers have been trained especially for this field, the question of who should teach adult illiterates arises. Should specific experiential and personal requirements be stated? In the absence of stated qualifications, elementary teachers are most often attracted to and are provided with the reading training skills for literacy training. These are not necessarily the most satisfactory teachers for adults."[1]

Three criteria can be used to select and evaluate teachers. They are personal qualities, teaching behavior patterns, and educational gains achieved by students. Personal qualities of a teacher which may be evaluated are: physical appearance; voice; dress; enthusiastic, energetic, and positive approach; favorable rapport with students; general culture; breadth of interests; social adaptability; physical fitness and vigor; English usage; self-control and poise; and sense of humor.

Professional factors related to teaching behavior patterns which can be evaluated may include: knowledge in teaching field; instructional strength, relating to interesting, varied, well planned and meaningful classroom presentation;

[1]W. Otto and D. Ford, Teaching Adults to Read, (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1967), p. 26.

WILLIAM D. DOWLING

Associate Professor of Adult Education
College of Education
The Ohio State University

holding power; regularity of attendance; punctuality; skill in diagnosing student learning problems; adjustment to pupil differences; and ability to establish objectives and measure their attainment.

It has been suggested that the success of a teacher might best be measured in terms of educational gains achieved by students. The use of this measure of evaluation seems to indicate a need for a clear statement of learning objectives. They might be stated and evaluation achieved in terms of number of grade levels advanced during a specified period, number of students who achieved job advancement during a specified period, or in the affective area – number of personal or emotional problems worked out during a specified period.

These three general categories of evaluative criteria suggest a number of questions which the administrator of an Adult Basic Education program will most likely need to answer at some time during the evaluative process. Keeping in mind the requirements of adults in literacy training, it would be necessary to ask (1) What is appropriate, adequate or desirable appearance, or voice or dress? (2) Is there an objective way or is it necessary to objectively evaluate an enthusiastic, energetic positive approach to instruction? (3) What degree of enthusiasm or energy is most suitable for a classroom of adults studying basic education? (4) Whose sense of humor might be held as a standard for teachers of Adult Basic Education? (5) In which teaching field should an ABE teacher be prepared? (6) Is the problem of dropouts in an Adult Basic Education class always directly traceable to teaching approach? (7) Are school policies, procedures and schedules always appropriate for the teaching-learning situation for which the teacher is being held responsible? (8) How much supervision or other help has the teacher of Adult Basic Education had in setting and obtaining suitable goals? (9) Is it fair to hold a teacher of Adult Basic Education responsible for learning by adults who may have been markedly unsuccessful in other learning situations? (10) Are emotional aspects part of the educational objectives of the program?

These questions indicate some of the grave problems associated with teacher evaluation. Teaching means many different things. The teaching act varies from person to person. The teaching act varies from situation to situation. Arvil Barr stated the evaluators' options this way, "With the situation as it is, the researchers interested in measurement and prediction of teacher effectiveness have basically two choices: one, to seek the essence of teaching found within a wide range of activities called teaching and the means of predicting efficiency in a variety of situations; or second, to measure efficiency in particular learning and teaching situations and predict these particular efficiencies . . . The first problem is one of definition; one must define teaching before it can be evaluated and effectiveness predicted. A further difficulty arises out of the fact that the concept of efficiency is nowhere well defined."[2]

The foregoing discussion would indicate that those who attempt evaluation of the teachers of Adult Basic Education do so with some peril. Valuable objective measures have yet to be developed so we are, therefore, faced with the possibility of continuing to make selections on subjective bases without the benefit of legitimation of solid evidence that our evaluation or the criteria used are suitable or adequate.

Inadequate as research data may be to support or deny the evaluative criteria being used, available measures continue to be used and will most likely be used until something better comes along. The state office staff of the Adult and Veteran Education Section of the Florida State Department of Education listed a number of "plus qualities in adult teaching" in the Florida Adult Educator, Autumn 1963.[3] The qualities they mentioned refer to all teachers of adults, not just teachers of Adult Basic Education. It is possible, though, that a person who has a responsibility of selecting and evaluating teachers of Adult Basic Education may want to use some of the criteria. The Florida adult educators believe that the outstanding adult teacher keeps up with the problems and anxieties and significant events which affect the lives of their students. A second criteria is that the adult teacher practices freedom. Evidence of this quality would be found in the development and maintenance of a classroom atmosphere which is free and in which each individual is made to feel important and free to contribute. A third characteristic is the ability to listen – listen to students to learn about their background, home life, ambitions, strengths and weaknesses and – listen to the community to develop a storehouse of knowledge which will be valuable in teaching. Fourth, the outstanding teacher of adults loves people. Such a teacher establishes relationships with students which are valuable to the students and for which the teacher is remembered with affection. Fifth, the outstanding teacher of adults exercises imagination by recognizing student resources and potentialities to make the learning situation increasingly attractive. Sixth, the successful teacher of adults brings out the best in people by serving as a living example of admirable qualities such as sincerity, honesty, patience, and tolerance. Seventh, the outstanding teacher of adults displays versatility by adjusting and adapting method and content to the group and the situation in which it finds itself. Eighth, the outstanding teacher of adults is resourceful – "finding something where there is nothing apparent." Ninth, the outstanding teacher of adults has faith in himself and in others. And finally, the outstanding teacher of adults really enjoys teaching.

Objective measures of the above listed qualities are not easily devised. They may serve a useful purpose for the administrator who has sufficient faith in himself to apply these more than somewhat subjective criteria.

The trainees, instructors and administrators of the Stanislaus County Multi-Occupational Adult Training Project of Modesto, California, identified seven needed qualities for basic edu-

[2] Arvil S. Barr, "Wisconsin Studies of the Measurement and Prediction of Teacher Effectiveness," *Journal of Experimental Education,* Volume 30 (September, 1961) pp. 5-21.

[3] "Plus Qualities in Adult Teaching," *Florida Adult Educator,* Volume 3, Number 3, July-September, 1963, pp. 8-13.

[4] Frank C. Pearce, *Basic Education Teachers, Seven Needed Qualities,* A report of the Stanislaus County Multi-Occupational Adult Training Project, (California: Modesto Junior College, 1966). 18 pages.

cation teachers.[4] They are (in descending order of importance): understanding, flexibility, patience, practicality, humor, creativity and preparation. Some of these are mentioned by the Florida publications mentioned earlier. The California study summarizes, "The ideal teacher could be described as people-oriented, more interested in people than things, more interested in individuality than conformity, and more interested in finding solutions than in following rules. He would be considered a mature, integrated personality that had chosen his own role and relationship to society and coveted for everyone else the same privileges."

Data concerning teachers of Adult Basic Education was gathered incidentally with the Field Test and Evaluation of Selected Adult Basic Education Systems done by Greenleigh Associates.[5] The teachers for the programs in which the four systems of adult basic education materials were tested were selected to possess the qualities of maturity, warmth, sensitivity, understanding, and preceptiveness.

In addition to these personality characteristics the teachers were expected to have an understanding of poverty, the family structure of the adult basic education students and the needs and aspirations of the population. The teachers selected were high school graduates with no teacher training, college graduates with no teacher training and certified teachers in the school systems.

This study observed that the retired and older former elementary teachers found it impossible to break the habit of treating students — even adults — as children. The research supervisors of the study felt that teachers who were about average age or younger were more flexible and better able to establish rapport with the students quickly. All the teachers were rated by the research personnel of the study and then these ratings were compared with the mean-change scores of the students based on Gray Oral Tests. There was no correlation between the gain scores of the students and the supervisor ratings of the teachers.

[5]Greenleigh Associates, *Field Test and Evaluation of Selected Adult Basic Education Systems* (New York: Greenleigh Associates, Inc., 1966), pp. 5, 7, 89, 93-96.

The observers agreed that the personalities and attitudes of the teachers and their ability to relate to students as individuals were the key elements in making learning an exciting experience. A final conclusion of the study is that certification as an elementary teacher does not necessarily prepare a person to teach Adult Basic Education any better than an uncertified person. Every category of teacher preparation in the study achieved to a degree.

It should be emphasized here that this study was not primarily designed to evaluate teachers of Adult Basic Education and that more rigorous research and study is needed to confirm or deny the observations made.

"A Guide for Teacher Trainers in Adult Basic Education" published by the National Association for Public School Adult Education suggests a screening device for selecting those who would be best suited for working with disadvantaged adults.[6] Positive and negative factors are cited in these areas: academic, intellectual, experiential and personal.

It is suggested that in the academic area a prospective teacher have more than one specialized subject matter, major or minor, and some training in psychology, teaching techniques and methods. Low grades in sociology, psychology and practice teaching plus an excess of specialization in academic subject matter would indicate that the teacher could be expected to have less success in working with disadvantaged adults.

In the intellectual area, teachers could be expected to achieve success if they are able to talk intelligently on abstract topics and see a variety of solutions to problems. Success would also be indicated if the prospective teacher is versatile, adaptable with general knowledge in many fields. Less success would be indicated if the prospective teacher were unwilling or unable to hear out opposing views or is too convinced of some methods to the exclusion of others.

In the experiential area, the teacher could be expected to have greater success if he or she has held jobs among people with low skills and has held more than one job not associated with a school environment. Less success would be indicated if the teacher is unable to get along with persons from a wide variety of socio-economic levels. Expressions or indications of prejudice against certain groups within the population or withdrawing from a group because of differences of opinion would also indicate minimal success. A negative factor in the experiential background of a potential teacher of disadvantaged adults would be a lack of "follower" positions and a strong urge to lead.

Positive factors in the personal area are that the prospective teachers have contact with many organizations and friends, belong to action groups, have the ability to listen before reacting and the ability to rephrase another person's point of view in terms acceptable to the other person. Negative factors in this final area would be evidence of a mind closed to a number of possibilities, evidence of antisocial attitudes or outrage at unusual behavior, emotional introversion, lack of patience or a feeling of possessing answers to sociological problems in specific terms.

Again, these guidelines for selecting teachers for disadvantaged adults seem to have a limited capacity for objectification. The problem remains then of applying such criteria in a meaningful way.

The persons attending this seminar for administrators of Adult Basic Education were asked to complete a questionnaire dealing with their concepts and practices in selecting teachers of Adult Basic Education. The responses they gave are of interest as they relate to the foregoing discussion on evaluation and selection of teachers of Adult Basic Education.

In response to the question, "What criteria are used by your school system in the selection of teachers of Adult Basic Education?" The administrators indicated they are most likely to look for a teacher with experience. They also want a teacher who is certified, has concern for people and understanding for the concerns of others. The respondents to this question were not asked to limit the number of criteria. They mentioned twenty-nine different terms in ex-

[6]National Association for Public School Adult Education, *A Guide for Teacher Trainers in Adult Basic Education*, (Washington, D. C., 1966).

pressing the characteristics they would like prospective teachers to possess.

When asked to narrow the criteria down to one, it was found that experience as an elementary teacher and concern for people were the two most often mentioned by the thirty-five administrators.

The administrators attending the workshop most often make contacts to secure teachers of Adult Basic Education on recommendations from other administrators in their system. The next most often utilized contact is with other teachers. Contact is also made with prospective teachers of Adult Basic Education by the teacher's own initiative, public announcement, personal contact and contacting retired teachers.

In response to a question concerning what the administrators would like to know about prospective teachers of Adult Basic Education which they are now unable to determine, it was found that the overwhelming number of their responses referred to personality traits rather than professional preparation.

It was found that thirty percent of the 388 teachers who will be hired in the school system represented by the thirty-five administrators in attendance at the workshop have had a training program for Adult Basic Education teachers which had lasted two weeks or longer.

Most of the administrators attending the workshop have been administering or coordinating an Adult Basic Education program for less than three years. When two veterans who have been in business fourteen and fifteen years are subtracted from the population it is found that the average years of experience for the remaining thirty-three is 2.1 years. Twelve administrators had no teaching experience in Adult Basic Education.

Eighty percent of the administrators believe that specific professional preparation is necessary for teachers of Adult Basic Education and that it should be beyond that provided for teachers in elementary and secondary schools. The administrators were also asked to rank the characteristics mentioned by the Modesto, California study. The Ohio administrators ranked the seven characteristics in this order of decreasing importance: understanding, patience, creativity, preparation, flexibility, practicality and humor. Some difference may be noted here between the two responses or ranking in that the Ohio population is entirely administrators where as the California study involved ranking these characteristics by students, teachers, and administrators.

There seems to be a general consensus that teaching technique without rapport with students in Adult Basic Education is of little value.

It can also be concluded that teachers must be selected for a variety of teaching situations and that they must be flexible and adaptable. It becomes increasingly evident that without research to guide administrators in the selection and evaluation of teachers of Adult Basic Education, the judgments which must be made will most likely continue to be made on subjective basis. Considering the responses of the administrators of Adult Basic Education in Ohio to the questionnaire we are able to conclude that their selections and evaluation criteria are well motivated and that they are doing as well as can be expected until more objective measures are available.

MABEL RIEDINGER

Distinguished Professor of Education
Akron University

Counseling Adult Basic Education Students

Mabel Riedinger

I. THE TEACHER-COUNSELOR'S ATTITUDE

A. Respect this student

1. See the person he has the potential to become.
2. Be friendly, willing to go out of your way to be helpful.
3. Remember that he is trying to do better.
4. Consider his self-concept and do all you can to strengthen it realistically.
   a. never tear down
   b. help him overcome damage
5. Remember that each individual is different, unique; don't try to "treat 'em all alike."

B. Faith in the improvability of mankind

1. People live up to expectation; therefore expect the best.
2. People often surprise us by doing better than we judged possible.
3. "Only those who love us can help us." Kimball Wiles.

C. Your own self-confidence

1. Example in personal relationships
2. Example in professional performance

II. PRINCIPLES OF COUNSELING

A. Listen, ask, wait

1. Give the student a chance to reveal to you his ideas, feelings, attitudes.
2. Never give advice; remember Socrates.
3. Take time, be patient; your student doesn't know how to express his thoughts in words he thinks will give you a good opinion of him.
4. Don't probe; ask only fact questions unless he seems to want to reveal feelings. Back away from sensitive areas until he is ready to talk.
5. Don't let the interview drag until you are both uncomfortable.
6. Always leave the door open for a return.

B. Give information but not judgments

1. The student must manage his own affairs; you are obligated to foster independence, never dependence.
2. His choice may not be yours; even so, ASK – don't tell.
3. Be ready to help him make a new choice when he is ready.

III. THE NATURE OF THE STUDENT

1. Has accepted defeat, disappointment, damaged self-concept; considers himself victimized by fate.
2. May have unrealistic dreams of fate or fortune.
3. Superstitions, religious, traditional.
   a. "an eye for an eye"
   b. capital or corporal punishment
   c. no compromise on right and wrong
4. Suspicion of intellectuals.
   a. impractical
   b. likely to victimize the ignorant, "the city slicker"
5. Finds change difficult to accept in a world of fantastically rapid change.
6. Torn between hope and despair.

JAMES R. DORLAND

Associate Director
Division of Adult Education Service
National Education Association

An Overview of Adult Basic Education

James R. Dorland

For the past two days you adult educators have been examining in depth one of the newest, fastest growing, yet least understood areas in all of education – namely, adult basic education. It is so new that we had to coin a term to describe it. Over the years we had made sporadic attempts to teach the "3 R's" to adults under the guise of literacy training, fundamental education, elementary education for adults, pre-high school communicative and computational skills and a host of other pedagogical terms; but it is only in the past three years that the name adult basic education, or ABE, has come into common usage.

Some measure of the political, social, and economic potency of the adult basic education movement can be seen when we consider some recent developments:

1. ABE first reached national prominence as a part of the Great Society's heralded War on Poverty when it was designated as Title II B of the Economic Opportunity Act in 1964. Yet, when it became a political football within a year after its birth, adult basic education was the first program to be yanked out of the OEO and given lock, stock, and barrel to another government agency, namely the U. S. Office of Education. Some say this was the first chink in the OEO armor.
2. When it was discovered early in 1965 that no provisions were made for teacher training in the adult basic aducation legislation, the Ford Foundation became a willing partner of Uncle Sam and picked up the tab to the tune of almost $200,000 for three ABE training institutes which were then held in the summer of 1965. The federal government has paid the bill for teacher training since then.

3. State departments of education were virtually forced to take an interest in adult basic education when it became apparent that all funds were to be channeled to the local communities only by way of the federal government to the state departments of education. More than half of the state departments did not have full-time adult basic education staff members when federal funds became available early in 1965. Needless to say, the states moved quickly; now every state has at least one full-time staff member for ABE and many states employ extensive staffs. As a result of this intensified activity on the part of state departments, a new national organization was formed in 1966 known as the National Council of State Directors of Adult Education. I am proud to serve as executive secretary of the NCSDAE in addition to my other duties with the National Education Association and the National Association for Public School Adult Education.
4. Commercial publishers quickly exhibited a keen interest in ABE when it was discovered that there was a desperate shortage of adult-level materials available for use. Many publishing companies mounted not only crash but also long-range programs, with the result that we now have a wide range of instructional materials designed especially for adults.
5. New institutions sprang into existence in order to become a part of the burgeoning ABE movement. We saw the emergence of such organizations as the Board for Fundamental Education and the Opportunities Industrialization Centers – both of which have developed nation-wide programs in order to try to serve the needs of America's undereducated adults.
6. The United States Office of Education underwent a major reorganization in 1965 and recognized adult basic education as a legitimate, full-fledged partner in the American educational enterprise by creating a separate Bureau for Adult and Vocational Programs on an even basis with Bureaus for Elementary, Secondary and Higher Education.
7. Other federal agencies jumped into the adult basic education picture with the result that some 28 separate adult basic education programs are now being carried on by the federal government.
8. Private industry was not to be left out in this rush to become a part of the ABE movement, and early this year the National Alliance of Businessmen, in partnership with the Department of Labor, created its Job Opportunities in the Business Sector (JOBS) program with an announced goal of employing and training some 500,000 of those persons who have been designated as "hard core unemployed." In most cases, adult basic education is an integral part of the training program.
9. Community and junior colleges are offering adult basic education classes in many places – certainly a function not originally foreseen by many of these post-high school institutions.
10. Adult basic education has become politically attractive as it has developed a strong following across the country. Former HEW Secretary John Gardner and Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson visited ABE classes and paid them high tribute. As thousands of letters have poured into Capitol Hill from ABE students and their friends, Congress has been quick to take note of the political potency of this new movement. ABE is the only program in the United States Office of Education slated for a sizable increase in funds during this fiscal year of belt-tightening and general cutting back of federal programs.
11. And, of course, the public schools have mobilized as never before to take an interest in the educational problems of undereducated adults. Two years ago President Johnson said that in our public schools we have an "$85 billion investment which we are using only 30% of the time." Since then, scores of schools that had never opened their doors to adults at night, have turned on the lights and offered educational hope to many of those who had previously known only hopelessness.

So these, then are some of the recent developments mentioned rather sketchily in order to make the point that ABE is a present, potent force in American education. If you are getting the impression that some of my remarks are biased, you are undoubtedly correct. You see, I am a lobbyist for adult basic education, and it is the role of the lobbyist to speak positively and optimistically about the program for which he is lobbying. I firmly believe that those of us in education have played a passive role in legislation and politics for too long and are only now discovering the almost unlimited power that we have when we unite in seeking a common objective. Right now my personal objective is to do all I can to facilitate the enactment of federal legislation which would see that the millions of Americans without a basic or high school education are given a chance to complete their education at no expense to themselves other than the taxes they pay as adult Americans. Nothing less than a free basic and high school education for everyone is our association's number one legislative objective.

But what are the roadblocks that might make the attainment of this objective rather difficult? Let us consider a few of them:

- Our American philosophy of free public education has historically meant free public education for young people – not adults. As the first nation in mankind's history with mandatory education until ages 16-18, we have largely ignored the fact that millions of Americans missed their chance the first time around for an education through high school. Our 1960 census figures informed us that we had at that time more than 64 million Americans above the age of 18 who had not completed high school. We constantly hear that up to one million young people are dropping out of our schools each year, which indicates that the 1970 census figures might be even more alarming than those of ten years previous.

- Education is big business and it is costly business. With our present emphasis on property taxation – and with many property owners feeling that they have reached a saturation point – we need to find new ways to finance public education. Quite correctly, the needs of young people will always come first. How then are we to find enough remaining money to provide educational opportunities for America's culturally disinherited adults? Admittedly, there is no easy answer; but our recent social problems are dramatic evidence that we must seek and find answers in order to make better use of our human resources. Scare tactics are no longer necessary now that all of us have lived through a series of long hot summers in countless American cities.
- Adult education must shed its past identity as a program which essentially provided more and better educational opportunities for middle-class Americans who had already been privileged to receive good educations. Adult education for improved use of leisure time is a worthy program; however, it is not a pressing current need of society and should probably be financed largely by the participants. Adult basic education which includes the range from literacy training all the way through high school must come front and center in the bid for the tax dollar.

Admittedly, these are major roadblocks, but they are not insurmountable ones. Now, please permit me to speak as an adult educator to adult educators and mention four of what I call our own set of internal challenges. Although they might not necessarily be pertinent to you in your back-home situation, I feel that they have overall relevance for our chosen field of adult education. Please consider them:

1. ACCEPTANCE WITHIN EDUCATION AND BY SOCIETY THAT ADULT EDUCATION IS SOMETHING MORE THAN A "JUNIOR PARTNER." Because of the previously-mentioned American philosophy that education is essentially for young people, adult education has long languished in the periphery of the American education scene. Lack of clarity as to task definition and role clarification of adult educators, and indistinct identification as to whether or not adult education is a separate discipline – these have held back the full-scale acceptance of adult education.
2. PROVINCIALISM OR SMALLNESS OF SPIRIT OF MANY ADULT EDUCATORS. Within the ranks of a struggling field, we have also had some "in-house" confrontations: adult basic education – general adult education; adult education – vocational/technical education; public school adult education – community college adult education; AEA-NAPSAE-NUEA-AUEC; public school adult education–Community Action Programs; college of education-extension division; USOE-OEO-Labor-HUD. This doesn't imply that there is not cooperation between the groups mentioned above, but there is enough evidence of tensions resulting from these confrontations for us to recognize them as an important problem which adult educators must face.
3. INSTITUTIONALISM – PROGRAM POLARIZATION RESISTANT TO CHANGE. Because a particular program was first offered in the public schools or the churches or on television or in any one institution doesn't necessarily mean that this is the best place for it to be or that it should remain there. Since a lasting answer is seldom found in adult education or elsewhere, adult educators must be specially sensitive to changing needs and changing times. There are occasions when a new institution can accomplish objectives which an older institution finds outside its reach.
4. FEDERALISM – HOW TO LIVE WITH THE UNCERTAINTIES OF PROGRAMS FUNDED OUTSIDE THE LOCAL COMMUNITY OR THE STATE. A decade ago federally-funded educational programs were a rarity; now they are an accepted way of life with funds coming from such federal agencies as the Office of Education, Office of Economic Opportunity, Department of Labor, Housing and Urban Development and others. Forward-funding is still the exception and not the rule, and adult educators have learned to live with an uncertain level of funding. How to maintain program consistency from year to year has become a major problem.

As you can see, I have not confined my overview to adult basic education because I don't feel that there should be any exclusive distinctions between ABE and the rest of the field. What has been happening in Ohio and in many other states during the past several years is tremendously exciting. As we view some of our accomplishments it might be easy for us to sit around and congratulate each other on a job well done. Most of us have neither the time nor the inclination to do that. The magnitude of the unfinished task gives us all more to do than we can possibly accomplish. We need to find better, more efficient, and less expensive ways to reach those who have been previously unreachable. We need to tell the adult education story both to the general public and to the decision-makers, wherever they might be. We need to perceive ourselves as "change agents" and to act as though we believe that we are all engaged in the most important work of our time. Millions of American adults are depending on you and on me to help them secure their fair share of what many people call the American dream. Those of us here know that in reality this is no dream but is the American way of life for those fortunate to be educated enough to enjoy it and to participate in it.

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